UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

The Oriole

By ZONA GALE

China and the Bandit Outrage

By R. B. WHITAKER

"Noble Sentiments Frustrated by Confused Ideas"

By LUCIA AMES MEAD

VOLUME XCII NUMBER 4

Chicago, October 11, 1923

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

(Established 1878)

Subscription, $3.00 per Annum

A Journal of the Religion of Democracy

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

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Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE

Pamphlet Mission

FOR

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER

IN

RELIGION.

Publishing Committee:

ROBERT COLLYER, Chicago. WM. C. GANNETT, St. Paul.
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PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

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UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. XCII. THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1923 NUMBER 4

THE OUTLAWRY OF WAR.

[A Definition.]

A general treaty among all civilized nations abolishing the age-long institution of war for the settlement of international disputes; providing for the creation of a code of international law based upon equality and justice between nations, the code to contain as its inviolable principle the outlawing of war by making it a crime against civilization; and for the clothing of the international court with affirmative jurisdiction to hear and to decide all purely international controversies, as an effective substitute for the destructive decisions of war. The court to be modeled as nearly as may be upon our Federal Supreme Court, which has dispensed international law, by exercising jurisdiction over and judicially settling disputes between our sovereign states, for one hundred and thirty-five years, without resort to force. The right of defense is expressly preserved, and the right of revolution, always in defiance of existing law, is recognized as inherent in any human plan. Outlawry deals directly with the institution of war, puts the world's war system, now lawful, under the condemnation of law, without waiting for the fatally slow process of getting rid of the causes of war, which, like the causes of duelling, can hardly be removed before the advent of the Brotherhood of Man.

S. O. LEVINSON.

So Mussolini has had his way with poor stricken Greece. Of course he has gotten out of Corfu. No man who knows enough to add one to two and make it three, ever supposed that he would stay. The imperialists of France and England could be counted upon to see that Italy did not bottle up the Adriatic; and in this common interest, by the way, found that mending of the *Entente* which has so surprised the world. But Mussolini has had his way none the less. He made his grandstand play. He secured his apologies and salutes. He keeps the loot of 50,000,000 lira, so obsequiously passed over into his treasury by the Council of Ambassadors. He takes the minds of the people of Italy triumphantly off of their pressing domestic problems. And he shows the League of Nations what one member can do to another member when it acts quickly and talks loudly. The League, we notice, has ended its meetings with a flourishing declaration about its right and competency to handle such a situation as this, and all its friends are clamoring that the League has asserted itself and has won the victory. But the League did not assert itself when action could alone be effective, although the covenant itself has contained all along exactly the declaration of power which is now passed so grandiosely as a special resolution; and the League does not now assert itself in forcing the imperial swashbuckler to make apology and pay damages for his cruel slaughtering of the Corfu innocents. The League's conduct in the closing days of its sessions reminded us for all the world of the conduct of Bob Acres in "The Rivals"—all valor when his antagonist was far away, a doddering coward when he flashed an eye or fingered a pistol! It's all a sordid tragedy—most of all, perhaps for Italy. Since the glorious days when noble patriots sang "Italia, Italia shall be free," no such stain has fallen upon the Italian flag—no such dishonor upon the memory of Mazzini. From Mazzini to Mussolini!—what a fall is here, my countrymen!

Demands for revision of the League Covenant, which is the one encouraging side of the Graeco-Italian affair, have brought to the fore at Geneva a feature of organization to which we have always pointed as one of the supeme weaknesses, or evils, of the League as at present constituted. We refer to the matter of amendments! Whenever we have objected to America's entering the League, we have at once been told that the League Covenant can be amended; and that, if America doesn't like the present organization, the thing for her to do is not to stay out, but to come in and make the League over by process of amendment. Our Constitution has been amended—why not the Covenant? To which we have always replied, as in UNITY of August 30th, last, page 363, that there is in this respect, as in others, no similarity between Constitution and Covenant! Amendment of the Covenant from within we have always argued, is as near an impossibility as anything can be in this uncertain world. Now come the debates at Geneva, following the Italian crisis, to prove our point. Thus, on September 16th, last, there was a discussion in which Premier Chagas, of Portugal, declared his judgment that "there should be a general revision of the League Covenant. In reporting this, the Associated Press correspondent then says:

> In connection with the move to make the league more practicable in its workings, a project has been inaugurated designed to change the method of securing the approval of amendments to the covenant. Article 26 provides that amendments to the covenant shall take effect when ratified both by members whose representatives compose the council of the league and by a majority of the member states. Sir James Allen, New Zealand, remarked today that under this arrangement one member of the council might block the desires of the remaining members of the league, namely, representatives of 52 countries. Sir James argued for a modification of Article 26 in such a way as to permit of a remodeling of the covenant when a majority of the nations favor this.

Following this comes a statement, which was new to us, given on the authority of M. Loudon, of Holland—

"that out of the fourteen amendments to the Covenant, *not one is effective* because the number of ratifications was insufficient." Some difference here between U. S. Constitution and League Covenant! In the former case, eleven amendments in one year; in the latter, no amendments in four years, with a record of fourteen killed! There really need be no further argument on this point. Amendments of the Covenant, under existing conditions, are practically impossible. It is not the least of the good signs today that this is at last recognized at Geneva.

It was only a few weeks ago that we expressed our suspicion that the German industrials were plotting ill against the German people, and preparing to sell them out to their French enemies. Recent events confirm our suspicion, and thus add the final tragedy to the tale of German woe. Let there be no confusion in anybody's mind as to what has happened in the Ruhr. Force has not won, passive resistance has not failed! For nine months the German people have held triumphantly at bay the greatest military power in the world. With no weapons but bared hands and folded arms, they have been slowly but surely beating to its knees the arrogant militarism of the French Republic. Witness the testimony of J. Henry Scattergood, in his address at Williamstown, as printed in UNITY for September 13, page 11. Hopelessly defeated in his efforts to capture the German citadel by force of arms, Premier Poincaré at last looked for traitors to betray it—and found them in the great industrials and their puppet, Stressemann. The present Chancellor was put into office for no other purpose than that of selling out the German people—and he has done it. He has heard "his master's voice"—and obeyed! Passive resistance, however, remains what it has always been, a weapon more potent than an "army with banners"—and machine guns. In our agony over this base betrayal of an heroic population, we could wish almost anything—even that the people might rise and rend their traitors limb from limb. But we know that this would be madness as it would be sin. Rather is it to be hoped that passive endurance will continue—that the people will find it in their souls to do what their government would have them cease from doing. Would that a Gandhi might arise among them to show them the way and teach them the spirit! This would save the nation of their love, and help Europe as she can alone be helped to peace.

The Japanese earthquake is now known to be an absolutely unprecedented catastrophe—"....the worst of the kind in recorded history," say the *New York Times*. With the third largest city in the world destroyed, 150,000 dead actually counted in the Tokio area alone, ten times this number wounded, and millions left hungry and homeless, we search human annals in vain for any parallel. "Famine and pestilence," says the *Times* again, "have doubtless taken at times a heavier toll of human life in China or India, but no earthquake or other convulsion of nature has ever equaled the destruction wrought in Japan." This terrific record having been firmly established—pray God permanently established!—it may be profitable for a moment to compare the capacity of nature in this business of havoc and death, with the capacity of man. As usual in works of this kind, man "betters the instruction." For what is even such an earthquake as this which shook the islands of Japan to their foundations, compared with such a feat of devastation as that of the Great War? At the very most the earthquake destroyed not more than 500,000 lives and $10,000,000,000 worth of property. What a bagatelle is this as matched against the record of the War, with its aftermath of revolutions, famines, pestilences and other wars, which measures not less than 50,000,00 men and women dead, and $300,000,000,000 worth of goods wiped out! Man, in other words, over a vastly wider area, has proved himself anywhere from thirty to one hundred times as destructive as nature at her worst. It must be conceded that this is doing pretty well. Great indeed is man! Give him time enough, and he will undoubtedly be able to annihilate completely all the human race and all its handiwork.

The appeal for American Co-operation, issued two months ago by such distinguished English men and women as William Archer, Arnold Bennett, John Drinkwater, A. G. Gardiner, L. T. Hobhouse, J. A. Hobson, J. M. Keynes, Lord Loreburn, J. Ramsay MacDonald, H. W. Massingham, Gilbert Murray, Horace Plunkett, Maude Royden, Mrs. Philip Snowden, and Graham Wallas, was an impressive and important document. In nothing was it more impressive and important than in its confession of error and disillusionment over the significance of the Great War.

"In the heat of the actual conflict," says the statement, "many failed sufficiently to recognize the dangers of a victory so complete that the victors would be able to force upon the vanquished any conditions, political, territorial, economic, or moral, which the interests or passions of any one of them might prompt. Some of us were not even disabused by the doings at Versailles, but still believed and hoped that the lessons of the war would somehow liberate forces of reason and goodwill adequate to redress any excesses in the operation of a dictated peace so as to make possible a pacific restoration of Europe. Such beliefs and hopes have now disappeared."

Exactly!—disappeared because they were nothing but phantasms of a mad imagination! The law of cause and effect holds good, after all—evil must produce evil. War is destruction, and therefore must destroy humanity. The pacifists, in other words, were right from the beginning to the end, so long at least as they remained true to the utmost logic of their philosophy. It was only when, in sheer horror or despair at what was going on, they tried to believe that it must be possible to get some good out of the encompassing evil,

that they went wrong. And now comes these honest English men and women to make confession of this fact. It is a noble act of abasement and repentence —good for their souls and also for the souls of us all. Would that some of our Americans would make similar confession. So far as we recall, however, not one American, from Woodrow Wilson down, has had the courage and honesty to stand up and say that he was wrong about the war. The American soul doesn't seem to function that way!

The American Civil Liberties Union has done more than any other one organization in this country to vindicate during the trying years of the war and after, our basic American principles of free speech, free press, and free assembly. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the Union is the only organization which has made it its chosen business to protect against assaults of government and people, the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution. In a period of unparalleled despotism and anarchy—two things which always go together!—the Civil Liberties Union has battled persistently and heroically to hold the nation true to her faith. As a reward for this service, which we believe will some day, in calmer times, be fittingly recognized as constituting one of the noblest chapters of American history, the officers and members of the Union have been denounced, slandered, persecuted, and during the war were close to arrest and imprisonment. Today, almost as much as formerly, the campaign of misrepresentation and abuse goes on, always on the basis of the ridiculous charge that this organization, which is dedicated to the preservation of our institutions as our fathers builded them, is in reality attempting their overthrow and destruction. The answer is conclusive—but not often has it come as "pat" as on Monday, September 10th, when the United Mine Workers revamped the old libel that the Union is a bolshevik organization seeking the overthrow of government. As printed on page 4 of the New York *Times* of this date, the Mine Workers' statement reads:

> While offering aid to scores of individuals who have been arrested or convicted for violation of national or State laws, it has not in a single instance come to the assistance of a man or woman who did not profess radical sentiments, or who was not allied with the communist, the anarchist, the revolutionary or the radical movements in America.

This time the gods were with the Union! For on page 19 of this same edition of the *Times* appeared an article, a third of a column long, which read in the opening paragraph:

> In a letter addressed to Dr. W. H. Evans, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, the American Civil Liberties Union, through Robert W. Dunn, associate director, has offered its services in defense of what was termed the Klan's rights of "peaceable assembly, free speech and free movement," which were violated, according to Dr. Evans, by citizens of Carnegie, Pa."

When we heard of the death of John Morley, we turned to the shelves of our library, and meditated upon some of the books from the pen of this great Englishman which have built themselves into our life. First of all, the essay "On Compromise" which we have sometimes called our Fifth Gospel, taking rank easily with Mill's "Liberty" and Spencer's "Education" as one of the three incomparable ethical treatises of the ninetenth century. How many times, when vision has been dim and courage weak, this little book has been to us as the very bread of life itself! Then the great biographies—first of all the "Burke," then the "Cobden," then the volumes on the great Frenchmen, "Voltaire," "Rousseau," "Diderot," then the "Cromwell," and last of all the gigantic "Gladstone," an able work but written all too near the event to be final or perfect. Add to these the two volumes of the "Recollections," written in old age as solace and anodyne during the Great War, the essays scattered over many fruitful years, and the memorable editorship of the "English Men of Letters Series"—and what a range and height and depth of literary achievement we have! John Morley was the last of that great group of minds which made the title, English Liberal, a badge of honor more distinguished than that of knighthood in the Middle Ages. Beginning with Mill, Morley's acknowledged master, there follow the immortal names of Huxley, Spencer, Arnold, Leslie Stephen, Goldwin Smith, Frederic Harrison and others only less familiar and notable. The qualities of these men were the same —patient and thorough scholarship, purity and sobriety of language, inflexible honesty, love of truth, an integrity of mind as unimpeachable as a woman's honor, tolerance, open-mindedness, the enlightened spirit. In these hectic and furious times, we have none to succeed them. Unlike most of his compeers, Morley had a political career only less memorable than his literary. Enlisting under the heroic banner of Gladstone, he fought long and valiantly for Irish freedom, wrote the first if somewhat halting chapter of liberty in India, sustained with noble eloquence the battle of Asquith against the Lords, and, as his final public act—one of unsurpassed courage—resigned from the government on the eve of war in 1914. His story of that deed is still to be published in the promised third volume of the "Recollections." What reading it will make!

The one hundredth anniversary of Francis Parkman, celebrated last month, brings to grateful memory the works of a great historian and the life of an heroic man—one of the figures of whom the American people should be most proud. We met him first in "The Oregon Trail," an authentic record of an important period and place in the development of our national life, and a book which to our youthful imagination as now in our mature judgment, must be ranked as one

of the greatest of all adventure stories. Next we read in succession, with bated breath, the series of volumes dealing with the story of France in the new world. We do not pretend to know just how these books stand in the opinion of the leading students of history in our day, but we suppose they still rank high. In any case, they are well nigh incomparable as literature; and we hazard the belief that they have placed their author permanently among the few really supreme historians of ancient and modern times. Certainly Parkman is the greatest American historian—as distinctive in our literature as Gibbon in the literature of England. After learning to know the works, we came to know the man—the story of his life, and of his heroic labors against terrific odds to perform his appointed task. It is a tale of devotion to truth, of steadfast endurance of suffering and disability, of patience and courage, comparable to the classic tale of Darwin and his "Origin of Species." All America should join in honoring Francis Parkman—statues should be erected to him in the public squares, his name emblazoned in golden letters on monuments and buildings. Yet his centenary promises to pass unnoticed by the nation and its general public. Strange, is it not, the valuation we put on men! Is it any wonder that world events still register barbaric times?

The Oriole

Early in the morning an oriole called, curving joyous and free above the voices of the other birds. One wonders how that call will sound to ears trained better than ours in time to come.

The conclusion is that it will sound no differently, because in our moments of delighted acceptance of beauty, we must have our sure glimpses of how those others—whom Hudson calls "that blameless, spiritualized race which is to follow"—how they will react to all of life.

Of our moments of living as those to come will live, the surest must be that creative instant of the discovery, through conduct, of some delicate new moral value which makes us pioneers in their very country. The discovery of certain secret moral processes which seem too slight to name, but, once discovered, are found to be inexorably operative. As, say, the secret law that a small service done to an "enemy" without his knowledge becomes a living thing and bears fruit. They will know this and will use it simply, as we use phosphorus in soil with knowledge of precise results. To be sure, by that time the "enemy" will be mere conflicts of endeavors and tastes and not anything more crude. But even such things will seem serious then, will seem not to be borne. When, momentarily, we now touch a pure harmony of effort, a flow of activity in some wide consonance with othes, we are chancing upon their A B C of living.

All that we are doing now of "good," the "service" laboriously "accomplished" as "altruism," with our crass pride in our "achievement," our crude moral "triumphs," our "law," is of course the five-finger exercise of those other measures. We see the mere external purposes and results, but the true and hidden motivation must be the slow building up of spiritual organs in the race. So that all such "service" shall sometime be second nature, as we say. First nature, then.

The points at which we touch through and function in those new fields of tomorrow are not merely exquisite experiences, gifts tossed back from the time to come. We cannot but perceive that in this slow-building process these excursions are advances for the whole race out of all proportion to the slightness of the actual operation. The effect upon the angels of one sinner repenting is a poignant figure—and yet not a figure; for in any simple moral triumph of now, when some primitive of the present lays hold on one of these delicate inner materials and uses it, what actually occurs is that the entire spiritual rhythm of his life, of all life perhaps, is accelerated.

Certain gentle outward forms taken by beauty are now almost intolerable in their pathetic reminders of an harmonious future to come upon the race. Those three radiant beings, oriole, scarlet tanager, rose-breasted grosbeak. Those three singing in a flowering tree. On a May morning, early. Or, say, another reminder so lovely that it is our tragic plight to turn from it as "precious," namely: A flight of many orioles, and they singing, through a grove of white birches. Our flashing response to these, momentarily perceived, would be the response of the new race to the simplest aspects of "commonplace" life. In such ecstasy perhaps they will regard a flower in the wall, a daisy in the furrow, a little broken beast. In short, theirs will be constantly the reaction of the artist of the present. And this is the unfathomable way of art today—that it unconsciously sees and interprets the reactions of the race of tomorrow. That is why art, true to this office, is its own "justification"; this is why beauty is so high an experience. They are true revealers of the norm of living toward which those of that "blameless spiritualized race which is to follow" are tending; even as we tend, afar off.

But the universal creative art, which all healthy persons may practice at will, is the art of behavior. No form of outward beauty comes closer to an expression of that norm of living than the release of some unrecognized moral law, tiny, trifling, regarded with suspicion by the word of "fact." That abrupt sense which, in a business talk, makes one abruptly and blindingly able to identify himself with his "opponent,"

so shrewdly trying to get the best of him. To see the human values of a "rival." To go out of one's way, but secretly!—to serve that "enemy." It is the universal creative art, in which all might be geniuses! It is the truest revelation of the reaction to that future race to all of life.

To think that all which tomorrow might yield is merely laboriously to be brought from places wherefrom it might today emerge if there were the perception to practice it.

We need not wait for an oriole, nor for any outward beauty, to be sure of our glimpse of tomorrow. We can make an oriole.

ZONA GALE.

Jottings

We've been thinking, all these weeks past, about that Italian attack on Corfu, when sixteen little boys and girls were killed and the island seized. It strikes us that, in essence, this is every bit as bad as anything that the Germans did in their attack on and seizure of Belgium. This being so, why didn't we hustle in this country to fill our prison—beg pardon!—army camps with conscripts, our jails with political offenders, our streets with Liberty Loan sharks, and once again make the world safe for democracy?

Speaking of those sixteen boys and girls killed in Corfu, we notice that no reparation has been paid, no flag saluted, no honor satisfied, for their deaths as for the deaths of the Italian boundary commissioners. But then, these children were murdered not by private individuals, but by sailors in uniform on shipboard, or, to be more exact, by a prime minister sitting in a black coat at a desk. This type of murder is legal, ethical, heroic, so of course—all right!

The strike of the pressmen in New York, which obliged the newspapers for nearly a fortnight to publish eight-page emergency editions containing little but news items—no editorials, no cartoons, no special features, no ads, except theatres, steamship sailings and church services!—made us wish that such a strike might be made permanent and universal. For once we had *news*papers, not advertising sheets, and amusement specialties!

It is the judgment of *The New Republic* that Mr. Taft as President "left a record behind him as one of the smallest of the many small men who (have) been chosen to occupy the office." Not content with this record, Mr. Taft is now proceeding to leave a similar record behind him in the Chief Justiceship. It is a curious fate which has thus misused this easy-going man.

The military dictator in Spain, who did to Alfonso's government at Madrid exactly what Mussolini did to Victor Emanuel's government at Rome, declares "his intention of respecting all institutions that really represent public opinion, so long as they act within legal limits." This surely sounds fine—but we wonder what act of despotism could not be justified on this basis! For ourselves, we prefer even Mussolini's consummate impudence to lip-slobbering hypocrisy of this type.

Senator Borah declares that "the fiasco of the League of Nations in the Corfu incident has eliminated it as an important issue in American politics." No opinion could be sounder than this, if the League is to remain unchanged.

Rev. M. D. Webster, of Concord, N. H., has installed a moving picture machine in his church because, as the headlines put it, he "finds movies help to fill churches." So, we have no doubt, would juggling, ground and lofty tumbling, saxophone quartets, and an occasional "Follies" girl. Strange, is it not, to think that there was a time when people went to church to hear preaching, and even themselves to worship God!

UNITY has consistently ridiculed the reports coming out of Russia that the Bolsheviki have put to death millions of helpless men and women. The New York *Times* once placed the figure at 1,766,118; the *Atlantic Monthly* solemnly affirmed this figure; Charles R. Crane raised the total to a round 2,000,000! We declared that 20,000 was a fair estimate of deaths at the hands of the Cheka. Now comes the *Times'* own correspondent, Walter Duranty, to demonstrate that "it is doubtful if the executions throughout the whole period surpass 50,000," and may be "as low as 20,000." Thus truth will out!

J. H. H.

A Day in Cologne

Editorial Correspondence

I spent "Ascension Day," May 11, in Cologne. It was a good place to be reminded—as is the Ruhr Valley a good place to be reminded—that Christ has ascended. The days we "keep"—Christmas, Independence Day, Lincoln's Birthday, etc., are good to remind us how little we keep them!

Cologne is 10 hours from Berlin, fast train. It cost me 30,000 Marks (85 cents). To get to my train I took street car, which cost me 300 Marks. Before that I had my eye-glasses repaired, which took six minutes, and the workman said "50 Marks" which was one-seventh of a cent. I paid more. Entering Cologne I

had on the train a cup of coffee, with milk and sugar, at a charge of 1000 Marks—less than 3 cents. And when I gave the porteress 500 Marks who went the length of the train to show me where to get the coffee, she fairly beamed with smiles. On reaching Cologne I stepped into the swellest Konditorei and had coffee and cake, served on a silver tray and with napkin, and the charge was 1500 Marks, which meant 4 cents. Nothing I can say better illustrates the wretched economic condition, the allies, with America, are forcing upon Germans—who at the same time are a highly intelligent, cultured people.

The first thing I saw on leaving the station at Cologne was in the principal square, in front of the celebrated cathedral. I heard orders shouted, stamping of heavy heels, and stood to see a squad of British soldiers go prancing down the street, while in front of the "Excelsior Hotel," leading one, of course, and British quarters, the guards marched to and fro, with strides and antics as ridiculous as goose-step, but calculated to impress the beholder with a sense of power. What silly asses these soldier guards with their Punch and Judy antics appear to be to any rational mind! Poor Tommies! Poor Yanks! And all the time appearing as if the stars would stop to observe them!

As I watched these automatic men, and several brutal well-fed officers passing, out of one eye, my other eye was watching a second procession going up street, a hundred priests by twos issuing from the Cathedral. These were dressed in black gowns, and each priest carried his lace-embroidered dress over his left arm. Another silly procession! Celebrating Ascension Day! Indeed, the whole show looked as if the Lord of love, peace and good-will had bolted for the fresh air of heaven! I also felt like swearing at such Ku Klux Klanism—in the garments of religion and government. Yet, I am willing to bet that the priests will be marching longer than the soldiers—if that's any comfort!

Yes, this is the city of the British occupation. And Americans were playing the same trick at Coblenz! The French also at Mainz, who moved into the American occupation, when Americans left.

How are the British behaving? And the Americans—how about them? We have been told that Germans like Americans and British. Who said that? Why, German girls marry them. Wonderful! I venture to say that there are about 1,000,000 German women (as many men) who would give their heads to get out of Germany—their prison. Of course, prisoners "like" their jailors—they say so always, when talking to people who have guns—and there is, I grant, a difference in jailors.

I do not pretend that I saw much; but what I saw, I saw, and it was enough. I saw hotels and houses (1500 I have every reason to believe) and the best houses, that had been taken over by the British. This is only the beginning of an "occupancy." These must be "furnished." When anything is broken in the house, it must be "replaced." The people thus dislodged shifted for themselves. I saw theatres, concert-halls, set apart for the exclusive use of British. I saw Cologne policemen saluting the British—they had to. I saw a big sign board—in English—which read "Assistant Mayor of North Side-Headquarters." The seat of Government is at British Quarters. I saw a great building, and over it "Y. M. C. A."—for the British. It made me feel rotten that an international Christian association should thus become a big finger of militarism. A Christian association should stand by men in their needs—but should refuse to help keep up the morale of men who are doing the devil's work.

And horrors of horrors! What do you think I saw? It fairly made me gasp, and I am no tenderfoot, religiously. I have, for example, seen Christian graveyards in Melbourne, that were divided into compartments; one for Church of England dead; one for Presbyterians—these two occupying places of honor, near the entrance, which will be the "Exit" presumably when the day of assembly comes! But I never saw anything that so electrified my Christian soul—for its bald paganism, as a big sign, very big, in front of a building, with the following words on it:

MILITARY CHURCH

PRESBYTERIAN PRIMITIVE METHODISTS
METHODISTS BAPTISTS
CONGREGATIONALISTS

And the Saints in Britain are making offerings to supply religion to the "boys abroad."

British occupation of Cologne? Of course it is bad. It couldn't be otherwise. It demoralizes those who "occupy" and those who are "occupied." I have nothing against the British. My great grandfather, in 1630, sprang from the little island for a boat making for New England. He went quick, too, as a lot of other sons of a free spirit did from 1630-1640. But the British are brutes just like other nationals when they get in uniforms and have weapons and walk among defenseless people. I did not say inferior, but defenseless people. The British bull dog was never noted for his "sweetness" and "light." especially when loafing and fed on unearned beef.

My home is Seattle. Cologne is a little larger than Seattle. The people of Cologne are just as fine and cultured and were better governed than those of my city,—in fact, are a few points ahead in music, art, science, government. Just suppose 30,000 men, with wives, sweethearts and concubines should come down upon Seattle. These self-invited guests of democracy speak Chinese or Mexican or French or German. They literally carry out the instructions of the Lord to "occupy till I come." They march up Second Avenue with their flags flying. Washington Hotel and Savoy are made their social headquarters. They divide the town up, and appoint their own "Assistant Mayors"—one for University district, one for West Seattle, etc. Mayor Brown is allowed to keep his title—but not much more. I see Mayor Brown folding his hands. Our policemen must salute these guests—everywhere. A thousand of Seattle's best homes and apartment houses are taken over, furnished. Broadway and Franklin Ballard Highschools are taken for barracks. The Coliseum, Liberty, Pantages, are all taken—all this is without charge, of course, for they come for the good of the world—for their exclusive use. They pick out President Suzzallo's home and send his family scurrying for a flat somewhere. They order Judge Burke, Dr. Matthews, David Whitcomb, Lawrence Colman, and Edward Lincoln Smith to move out, on two days notice. They commandeer all of Highland Drive. I saw a big amusement hall (once in constant use by the people) in the Beautiful Botanic Garden of Cologne, taken over for exclusive use of the British who use it once a week.

How did Americans like it when the British occupied Boston? Not a bit, and we know what it led to. I

know what is in the mind of many readers, namely, that the Germans are getting what they deserve. Wait a moment; the people of Cologne deserve this humiliation and demoralization no more than the people of Seattle deserve it! It is all a piece of stupid brutality, whether done by British in Cologne, French in the Ruhr, or Americans in Haiti. My sympathy is with those who are oppressed—whatever their nationality, especially if involving, as in Cologne it does, the underfeeding and misery of women and children,—and the aged:—whom the militarist never considers, and whose interests I place first. This is where the militarist is wrong, and I am right.

A letter came to me yesterday from a teacher in Dartmouth College. He says "I have the feeling that conditions in Germany must be far different from what we hear. Isn't the present invasion a crime?" If I knew what it is he "hears," I could answer better. I have this to say to him: Germans are a wonderful people. They keep right on working, etc. The whole nation, however, is undoubtedly facing ultimate demoralization if the present status continues. It will become the case of a whole nation continuously undernourished. And it is all so unnecessary. If the Allies, with America, would let up in the process of strangulation, going on in Essen, in Cologne, Germany would recover and help the world recover. The idea of a League of Nations without Germany and Russia is a criminal farce!

As to the Ruhr "invasion." Certainly, it is a crime. The invasion is marked by irritating brutalities such as do not occur at Cologne. (There is no occasion for it at Cologne.) The crime is so great that no nation will hereafter lay down its arms as Germany did. Germans believed in the 14 promises of Wilson; and then were compelled to sign a treaty that violated these solemn promises. My belief is that the allies and America (in their governmental heads) intend to keep Germany helpless, on account of political and economic interests, —particularly against Russia (hence anti-Russian propaganda so glaringly dishonest and criminal), since a recovering Germany might interfere with these plans. Meanwhile, the weak are suffering, and military bandits tread the highways,—not alone in China—blessed by bishops and archbishops.

SYDNEY STRONG.

China and the Bandit Outrage

Of late China has been in such a furor as probably has not existed since the Boxer days in 1900, aside from the period of the revolution in 1911-1912. Sunday morning, May 6th, the Express from Nanking to Peking was held up by a band of 1,000 bandits at Lincheng, Shantung, and the passengers, some twenty-five or more foreigners and a hundred Chinese, were carried off into captivity. The bandits, most of whom were ex-soldiers, demanded a high ransom, reinstatement in the army, and absolute guarantees that they would not be punished for what they had done. Many of the foreign captives have been set free, although some are still held awaiting the acceptance of the bandits' demands and the required guarantees. All kinds of reports have been circulating. The bandits apparently have asserted their willingness to hold up another train if necessary, and if that method fails, then to join with the soldiers in revolution setting up an independent government in Shantung. Reports have also come that foreigners would be killed if the terms of their captors were not met, but later reports declare these untrue. It is difficult to get at the real facts. Only one thing is certain, and that is that out of the unsettled conditions of the country a real bandit revolt has come into being, the consequences of which are apt to be of international significance. Among the captives were both British and American military officers, as well as the daughter of Senator Aldrich and other persons of prominence.

Both Chinese and foreigners seem to have about reached the limit of their patience with the inefficiency of the present government. Under the trying circumstances existing, some nationals of foreign countries are forgetting that they are guests of the Chinese people, and as such should abide by the laws of courtesy even though it is difficult to do so. The foreign language press, English and American, has been especially at fault in this matter, although there have been one or two notable exceptions. The Peking *Leader* has all through told the truth about both sides, and has put forth many constructive suggestions looking toward a real solution of the problem. On the other hand, other members of the press have done their best to bring about foreign intervention, and have constantly refused to see anything but one side of the question. The problem is sufficiently difficult for China without her being constantly embarrassed by the irrational and uncontrolled outbursts of which said members of the press have been guilty.

The most recent happening is the going of an International Military Commission to the field of the outrage to make an investigation. This action has been protested by the Military Governor of Shantung, Mr. Tien Chung-yu, on the ground that it is making more difficult the peaceful settlement of the question. The bandits have been reported to have immediately changed their attitude when they heard of the coming of said Commission. The most fairminded and level-headed members of both the Chinese and the foreign community have from the first urged that China be allowed to settle this quarrel between the different factions of the military—for that is what it amounts to —without outside interference. Both the bandits and the soldiers who have opposed them were until recently a part of the same army. One section was disbanded without being given back pay long over-due; the other was retained, also without being given back pay. Under the circumstances, it is not merely idle talk when the possibility of a combination of soldiers and bandits in a common revolution against the authorities is suggested. Both have been badly mistreated by their common masters, the military leaders.

It is merely the hope of finding a better way out which has prevented such action, together with the dominance of their military lords whom they do not quite dare to ignore.

John Gilbert Reid, a good friend of the Chinese people, has summed the matter up as follows:

> The bandits were equipped with modern arms. Some of them spoke French. It is widely thought that most of them were recently disbanded by Tuli Ma of Anhui, who received high praise for getting rid of his superfluous troops. The question now is, How did he get rid of them, and was it the

right way which he took? Huli Ma sent these men, these soldiers, home with their arms and a pass on the railway. It is known that Tuli Ma is considerably richer now than he was before he struck off the names of his troops from the military lists. He was given money in order to carry out disbandment. The discharged soldiers did not get the money; they have now demanded a huge ransom in order to free their foreign and Chinese captives. The Peking government is compelled to pay the ransom or permit the lives of foreigners to be endangered in China. And the incident may be repeated.

It is clearly a case of obtaining an end no matter what the means. The end for Tuli Ma, apparently was glory and a fat purse. But he may not have reckoned with the discharged soldiers—or did he? At any rate, to send home a large group of men with arms and no money is obviously impracticable in a land where bandits are now customary and multiplying in number. Labor corps, as suggested by two such rivals as Sun Yat-sen and Wu Pei-fu have not been organized by any militarist who has disbanded troops. In fact, the main matter to the militarists seems to have been getting rid of troops at once and keeping as many dollars as possible in their private pouches. Is this policy not responsible for the disorder and lawlessness in China today?

Lawlessness and militarism have been growing stronger and stronger ever since 1917 when Parliament was dissolved and the President forced out of office. What is to be expected of a wretched Chinese coolie who is recruited by a militarist and then finally discharged? This coolie-soldier has seen that he and his comrades rarely get paid and are in fact employed loafers, decorated with arms. Their officers share the spoils, that is, the "army" funds wrung out of the people of China. And the army expenses in China far surpass any other expenses. What, for instance, does the army do to help the people of China? Does the army keep the peace and protect lives and property? With military officers squeezing right and left, what is to be expected of coolie-soldiers who are dismissed penniless to look after themselves?

It is advisable to dig down to the roots of this problem. An incident like the hold-up on the Tientsin-Pukow Line arouses all sorts of feelings, yes; but what caused such an incident to occur? What made it possible? In connection with this matter it is interesting to note that some time ago a Peking Chinese paper published a list of Chinese millionaires, including the following multi-millionaires: Marshal Tsao Kun and Chang Tsolin, each worth $50,000,000; Liang Shih-yi, former Premier; Governor Yen Hsi-shan of Shansi, Wang Chan-yuan, and Yuan Nai-kuan, each worth $30,000,000; and sixteen others, including ex-Premier Chin, Tuchun Tien of Shantung, ex-Governor Tsao Jui, ex-President Hsu Shih-chang, ex-Finance Minister Pan Fu, ex-Premier Chow Tzu-chi, General Chang Hsun, and ex-Tuchun Li Hou-chi of Fukien, all worth at least $10,000,000. This list may be exaggerated or false. However, who is to blame for military lawlessness in China and what is the cure? (John Gilbert Reid in the *International Journal*, issue of May 12th, 1923.)

Truly, as Mr. Reid suggests, it is not difficult to see who is at the bottom of China's difficulties.

But as a foreigner, I am even more concerned that we from other lands who are here as guests of the Chinese people should not try to put all the blame on them. We should remember who it was that taught China to think of "force" as "the ultimate appeal." Before the coming of the foreigner military life was held in small esteem in China, soldiers being classed with servants. It was Bishop Bashford who wrote of Yuan Shih-Kai:

> Experience in Korea taught him the value of Western civilization. He had never been outside of China until he entered Korea, and he entirely underestimated the material power of the Western applied sciences, and epecially of Western military science, and he felt confident that China would triumph over Japan in a military struggle. In the war between China and Japan in 1894-95 China suffered a humiliating defeat. *Yuan Shih Kai was an apt learner, and the advantages of Western military training were burned into his soul.* (Italics ours.) Immediately on returning to China he secured permission from the government to train Chinese troops by Western methods.

Gradually through bitter experience China has come to believe that the West must be right. Her territories have been taken, her authority has been disregarded, and unjust concessions and treaties have been wrested from her,—all by force. Therefore, following the example of her ruthless teachers, she has sought to fit herself to meet force with force, but to her own undoing. Under the circumstances, it seems to the writer that we ought to exercise a little patience with our pupil.

But there are some other considerations which may help some of us to be patient with our Chinese friends if they are a little slow in solving the problem which we have helped to bring upon them. While we are thinking of "the mote" in our brother's eye, is it not possible that we are forgetting "the beam" in our own? The writer is an American and a sincere lover of his country. But just because of the love which he bears for his native land, he trembles sometimes as he thinks of certain lawless elements in our civilization which we have not yet learned to control. If one cared to write the story of all the outrages and atrocities which have been perpetrated by the Ku Klux Klan in recent months in America, that story would not look any better in cold print than does the story of the recent bandit outrages in China. One can hardly pick up a magazine from home these days without reading of some fresh activity of this organization in its campaign of bigotry, race prejudice, and rabid nationalism. Perhaps some Americans will think it unkind to thus compare our failings with those of present day China. We think not. We believe that the American people and the American government have enough to do at home, without interfering in any way with China's internal troubles. Right-minded foreigners in China do not want their home governments to send troops over here for their protection. If we choose to cast in our lot with the Chinese people, then we should ask no better protection than they are given. If we don't care for the risks here, and prefer to risk the Ku Klux Klan, the militarists, and the nationalists at home, then we are free to leave at any time. When we find the situation a trying one, we need to remember that it is no less so for the Chinese people. They are suffering far more than we are at the present moment. They are as eager to find the right solution as possible. If their house is not entirely "in order" we suggest that they have plenty of company in that regard. We have suggested just one situation (out of a number) in America which shows that we have not entirely overcome the lawlessness within our borders.

Not being British, we do not venture to moralize on the meaning of the past one hundred years of history in Ireland, nor on recent happenings in Egypt and India; not being French, we abstain from remarks on the situation in the Ruhr. But we would suggest that that nation which has its own house "in order" begin the throwing of stones at China.

R. B. WHITAKER.

Lintsing, Shantung, China.

Once I was tied to a tree, but the moon shining at night with its cold steel released me.

Once I was tethered to a field, but the galloping wind unstaked me.

Once I was leashed to an hour, to a day, but the sun burned the rope-tow like tinder, and I am free!

MURIEL STRODE.

"Noble Sentiments Frustrated by Confused Ideas"

The Editor of UNITY graciously invites another article from me on mooted questions related to the League of Nations and the World Court. I shall not hold him to his generous promise in his subjoined comments in the issue of August 30, that he would not reply to this one, for nothing helps the truth more than frank comparison of varying views.

Surely the League of Nations is not "one part of the world organized against another part," any more than the nine states which first ratified our constitution were organized "against" the four that at first remained outside. The League of Nations is not a "sham or dishonest league," but just such a league as Hamilton Holt, after close scrutiny of meetings at Geneva and of every word emanating from the League, has described in the August number of *Our World*. His testimony should be studied by those who think the League a "sham." Without America's help, though not preventing war between Poland, *in* the League, with Russia, *outside* the League, and between Greece, *in* the League, with Turkey, *outside* the League, the League has prevented war in three or four threatening instances. What evidence is there that "by staying outside the League, we are in an ideal stategic position . . . to take the lead in the organization of a real League"? What influence did we exert at Lausanne? No human being has presented any plan for a new association in the four years since the League began. As I have previously said, "No one could do so without largely duplicating the kind of association that exists already, for it is grounded in the nature of the situation" in which fallible people are struggling to create effective political machinery.

With every year, the League with its vast ramifications, becomes more deeply rooted. A League which could repatriate 400,000 war prisoners, which no one nation could have done; rehabilitate Austria (though action was long delayed by our Congress in failing to co-operate in postponing payment of Austria's debt); stop the spread of typhus which threatened all Europe; attack vigorously the terrible opium problem; give the small nations a chance to be effectively heard and to exert world power; set up a Court already deciding cases, to which certain classes of cases are pledged to be sent and which can have its power made compulsory just as rapidly as the nations will agree to give *any* world court compulsory power, such a league is not a "sham"; and under staggering difficulties, partly of our creation, has achieved noteworthy success. The facts that it also has provided important agencies to promote world health; to improve labor conditions through its great Labor Bureau; and that its efforts toward limitation of armaments are far-reaching and have been delayed by our own refusal to co-operate are matters unknown in any detail to most critics. To those to whom these vast undertakings are not known, I suggest the study of the British* pamphlets for sixpence or nine-pence a piece, to be had from "The World Peace Foundation," 40 Mount Vernon St., Boston.

UNITY speaks of the League of Nations as if it stood in the same category as our Confederation in 1783 which had no predecessor and was so unsatisfactory that it had to be superseded by the Constitution. The articles of Confederation really correspond to the agreements at the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, all of which had to be referred back to their respective states for ratification. These conferences were discontinued in the creation of the more effective body meeting regularly every year, beginning at Geneva in 1919.

As our own Constitution required many amendments, so the League Covenant will have many amendments. The most notable one under consideration is the Canadian amendment to article X which carefully guards against any nation's being "under obligation to engage in any act of war, without the consent of its parliament, legislature, or other representative body." Lord Robert Cecil's proposal for regional execution of provisions of article X is also under consideration. Our government can state what it has not yet stated to the League, the conditions on which it will enter. It can have no influence in securing modifications of the Covenant until it does so.

UNITY presents the Levinson-Borah plan for the outlawry of war as a true alternative to the League. Anent this, I call attention to the extraordinary cogent article by Walter Lippman in the August *Atlantic*, on "The Outlawry of War." It should be read and reread by all who are trying to create sound public sentiment on world organization. It shows the "tragic futility of noble sentiments, frustrated by confused ideas." The idea of the outlawry of war by a universal treaty, making war a public crime; the adoption of a code of international law of peace and the creation of a judicial substitute for war are the main features of the Borah plan. To the unanalytic mind, they seem plain and simple as well as righteous. The plan was originally presented by Mr. Levinson in 1918, in connection with the ideas of the League to Enforce Peace. A year later, Senator Knox talked about the outlawry of war as a substitute for the League of Nations, but wanted *a* League to enforce the decrees of an international court "as against unwilling states, by force, economic pressure or otherwise." This idea of force however was presently set aside by Knox and Levinson and the international court was to become one without power to enforce its decrees. Later still, Senator Borah adopted the slogan, "Outlaw War," and organized a campaign against the present Permanent Court of International Justice.

Says Mr. Lippman:

> The phrase was first employed in order to strengthen the League before there was a League. It was used to defeat the League after there was a League, and to advocate an international court before there was a Court. Now that the Court has been created, it is being used to defeat the Court, and to advocate another court which does not exist. . . . Mr. Borah is on record against the League because it is alleged to be a superstate which will destroy our national sovereignty. But this belief about the League does not deter Mr. Borah from employing his eloquence to deride the existing World Court because it has no power to take jurisdiction in all international disputes! Because there has not been formulated by world conference an authoritative code of law covering the matters about which nations dispute! Mr. Borah's confirmed objections to a superstate sleep comfortably in the same mind with his demand for a Supreme Court of the World modeled on our Federal Supreme Court having its gigantic powers in conflicts between states including, if Mr. Borah's analogy means anything, the power to annul acts of all parliaments, including our own Congress!

Political accidents have led to the fight against the

*League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S. W. London.

League and the Court by those who are campaigning for the immediate outlawry of war. The main point in the scheme is the treaty to accomplish the outlawing. All right-minded people of course favor the main idea, but advocates of the League see no logical consistency in this noble idea being bound up with hostility to either the existing League or Court. Senator Borah's plan for this treaty involves *the setting up of a world legislature.* The questions to be considered will involve complex issues about boundary lines, sovereign rights, the rights of natives, etc., etc., and legal rules must be laid down governing these questions which affect the very existence of governments, their political independence, economic opportunities, etc. These could not be settled in three months at another Washington conference any more than the first session of our Congress could have created a code of American national law. The world legislature would represent existing cabinets and the law-makers would be politicians. Is America ready to enter a Court that would settle all questions by law or to accept a code drawn up by the leading ministers and diplomats of today?

Senator Borah and Mr. Levinson would exclude from outlawry "the right of defense against actual or imminent attack." Most wars are sincerely believed to be wars of "defense." There are no wars of proclaimed aggression. The Germans hold that they were fighting for defense after Russia first mobilized. The Roosevelt doctrine of forestalling probable attack was to "hit first," and military strategy advocates this. Senator Knox's long list of kinds of disputes that may not be arbitrated covers all the essential matters in which we should be involved. Mr. Lippman shows how "an idea like the outlawry of war should have become so confused and sterile."

It is because of the assumption that law is the only alternative to war. Not so; diplomacy, representative government, federalism, mediation, compromise, and conference play a larger part than law in keeping the peace. No code or court can deal with political disputes. Mr. Borah entangles his proposed court in world politics. He demands a court with absolute jurisdiction like our Supreme Court, and ought to know as Mr. Hughes has emphasized, that his own Senate would be the last one to submit to it and let nine judges at The Hague annul a decision of Congress, as our Supreme Court can annul acts of a state legislature.

I was once asked why not demand what we want ultimately, even if we can not get it now, as did Susan B. Anthony in her demand for an amendment to the Constitution a generation before we got it. The answer is, while she rightly demanded from Congress the only thing which it had the power to grant, Mr. Borah is not demanding the only thing or the first thing necessary but the ultimate thing. He is putting the cart before the horse, in fact, before several horses. The world must first make international co-operation a habit. Then as Mr. Lippman shows, "will peoples be willing to make the enormous sacrifices which the outlawry of war must finally involve. But to say to the world as Mr. Borah's associates have in effect done from the start, that mankind must meet our terms or none, and co-operate on our principles or none, is to perpetuate precisely that temper of mind which the outlawry of war will most need to outlaw."

By all means, let us all co-operate in work for the outlawing of war. But let us realize the necessary, practical steps to its accomplishment.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

THE STUDY TABLE

New Books

No Chinese name is better known to the outside world than Sun Yat-sen. Through years an agitator of freeing his country from Manchu control, first President of the Great Republic, and now President of the so-called Republic of Southern China, he has been conspicuously before the public eye. He has now written a book in which he outlines China's needs and proposes a way to meet them. "The International Development of China" [1] suggests that the equipment developed for the conduct of the war be used to regenerate China and to develop a balance among nations that shall make for permanent peace. "If the billions of dollars' worth of war industries can find no place in the post-bellum readjustment, then there will be a pure economic waste." He urges a great international combination to prevent this waste. It would supply the capital, the management and expert direction, the machinery, for renovating China. She will gain the immediate benefit, but the enterprise will be immensely profitable for the participating nations. Having briefly presented his plan, he outlines in detail six specific programs. They show a great amount of thought and are full of suggestion. The first relates to the development of a great northern seaport with all its accessories and associated enterprises; the second plans a central seaport; the third a southern seaport; the fourth develops plans for a great network of railways; the fifth outlines industries making for the adequate securing of the necessaries and comforts of life; the sixth deals with mining. It is a grandiose scheme and looks well on paper. That some of its details may be impossible of realization, that others will need modification, does not affect the value of such a carefully thought out and well adjusted scheme. To present in one general and comprehensive plan the things essential to the development of China, going into explanatory detail, is really a great step. We doubt the success of his idea. The nations recently at war are too occupied with their own reconstruction to devote capital and energy elsewhere; it is impossible for them to maintain the war-industries, even for their own salvation. Again, no community of action between nations can be at present expected; jealousies, suspicions, hatreds, will prevent any such international combination, no matter how alluring is the prize offered. Again, the plan is based upon the definite socialization of China. There is no country where socialism would so easily find expression as China. The scheme of feeding, clothing, housing, educating, utilizing the Chinese people outlined in the fifth program is socialism, pure and simple. This fact will repel the nations asked to act. Even if the governments believed the attempt would succeed, they are not yet ready to have the example of such a nation constantly before their own populations. If they dared, or desired, to attempt socialism for themselves, they would fear a socialized nation of the mag-

1 "The International Development of China." Sun Yat-sen. New York: 1922. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 16mo; pp. x, 265.

nitude of China as a dangerous competing rival. Mr. Sun refers with hope to the Consortium. The Consortium contains little promise for the future; it is certainly not going to undertake any such magnificent enterprise. But, after all, it is something to have such a definite scheme developed. If China is to attempt her own redemption, she must have a clear-cut plan of procedure. She should not waste money on scattered and unrelated enterprises. She might undertake these programs, one by one, with national and local capital and Chinese control. Every step would be a forward movement because part of a consistent whole. The immediate and urgent enterprise seems to be program one. Our author says that when he laid the plan before the people of the locality concerned it was received with enthusiasm. If it could be undertaken and carried through it would mean much. The entire scheme is capable of realization, step by step, with national resources and national brains. Would that a beginning might be made! Meantime, in closing we may quote his own words as to his plan:

> I intend to make all the national industries of China into a Great Trust owned by the Chinese people and financed with international capital for mutual benefit. . . . In a nutshell, it is my idea to make capitalism create socialism in China so that these two economic forces of human evolution will work side by side in future civilization.

Dr. Dillon has expanded his series of articles that appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* into a book; "President Obregón—A World Reformer." [2] It is to be hoped that the book will have a wide and careful reading. It contains truths that we Americans should know, which if known and put into practice would make us a true leader among the nations of the New World instead of a feared and hated "Colossus." There is no question that Alvaro Obregón is a great man and his greatness is due to no admixture of Irish blood as is often claimed and Dillon sometimes half admits. Give Mexico credit for him. One mistake our author makes is the assumption that Obregón is the one and only hope for Mexico. He is probably the best man known for the present crisis, but crises bring out human greatness and repeatedly the great leader is brought out by events. In the case of Obregón, our author brings out the fact clearly. No one at first suspected, no one afterwards fully realized, the greatness of the man. In ordinary times, his quality might never have been known; the stress of the last dozen years has led to his knowing of himself and his rising to the occasion. He is not so superlatively great as Dr. Dillon claims, but no man could be. He is sufficiently great for his name to live, even if he fails in his present enterprises. There is no reason to be surprised at his greatness. Mexico has had many great men in the past, most of whom Dr. Dillon does not know, or underestimates. The country that produced a Lerdo de Tejada, a Benito Juarez, a Porfirio Diaz and a Venustiano Carranza, is quite capable of producing an Alvaro Obregón. The five are men of notably different characters—but all will be recognized in the future as men of ability, patriots, constructors. None had a more difficult task than the present President of Mexico. Dillon sketches his life from boyhood. He shows his origin, the formative influences that developed him, the qualities that have made him a success in one and another undertaking, the causes of his military achievement, the motives that led him to take the field against the man whom he, more than any one else, aided to the highest position in the nation. Dr. Dillon has had exceptional opportunities to know his subject. He attached himself to Obregón shortly before he became president and was with him almost constantly through a period of months. He knows Obregón's attitude, thought, and utterances better than any other foreigner. While he has, to a degree, idealized and refined the man, making him to be an unapproachable paragon, the picture is in its essentials true. Obregón, in his daily conversations, surely never expressed himself in the highfalutin, literary, rhetorical style in which Dillon clothes his utterances. A comparison of these and the actual documentary utterances of the man demonstrates this fully. When Obregón issues a proclamation, when he makes a ten-minute speech, his language is simple, his sentences are abrupt and straightforward, his energy is intense. But the thought that Dr. Dillon spins out into lengthy philosophical disquisition, is Obregón's thought and, to tell the truth, is weakened rather than strengthened by "style." Obregón has developed into a ruler with shrewd, honest, and generous ideas. He is anxious to better Mexico and to give her a proper place among nations. He looks with kindliness on the outside world but he asks kindness from it. He is taking advanced ground in regard to the common man, labor, education, national resources. His attitudes would be *splendid* in a great and powerful nation. In a nation, next-door neighbor to an aggressive, commercial, industrial, ambitious and grasping land, they are damnable and dangerous doctrines. In his "Mexico on the Verge," Dr. Dillon lay bare our aggressions: in this book he continues his attack. He shows that our hypocritical pretence of aid always cloaks an opportunity for grasping wealth. He holds up the cases of Porto Rico, Cuba, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Santo Domingo and Haiti as a warning of the danger that menaces Mexico. We have never meddled with a Latin-American republic to its betterment and our intervention brings confusion, woe and hatred. We have already interfered in Mexico. We prevent her borrowing from European countries, we attach conditions to loans from ourselves which are impossible for a sovereign nation to accept; we encourage turmoil and abet insurrection; we threaten every man of brains and ideas, who tries to govern in the interests of his nation rather than ours and raise up enemies to impede his reforms. The story cannot be told too often. Would that it might sink in and produce a change. Dillon repeatedly says he is not accusing the American people, but only the American government. Is he blind, or does he err, or does he lie? A people has no worse government than it deserves.

A doctoral thesis is usually important, but dry. A book developed out of a doctoral thesis, is usually worse than the original. "The Medicine Man," [3] by Captain and Doctor Maddox is a doctor's thesis developed into a book. The subject is interesting, the material is important, the book is dry. However, we are to have more; another volume is sometime to appear in which the medicine man in his capacity as priest and the history of medical remedies are to be discussed. Would it not have been better to omit the fifty-five pages upon medical remedies contained in this book—and to finish with the medicine man once for all and to devote the other work to the remedies?

[2] "President Obregón—A World Reformer." E. J. Dillon. Boston: (1923). Small, Maynard and Co., Inc. 16mo; pp. 350.

[3] "The Medicine Man: A Sociological Study of the Character and Evolution of Shamanism." John Lee Maddox. New York: 1923. The Macmillan Co. 16mo; pp. xv, 330.

The shaman is undoubtedly the most interesting man in lower culture. Even the dreariest presentation of him, his functions and his place in society, will be somewhat redeemed by the innate interest of its material. The author takes up in succession the medicine man, medicine women, adventitious aids, charlatans, social position, functions, perils of failure, reward of success, and methods. The style is dry and repetitious; the footnotes give an air of scholarship quite proper in a thesis, but repellant in a book for ordinary readers. The references to the footnote "reference lost" are funny. So is the footnote that defines "societal=of society, synonymous with 'social'." Why should the reader of a book like this need this crutch —and if he does why not give him footnote definitions for a host of more difficult words? Instead of finishing up with his medicine man, Dr. Maddox devotes the last section of his book to the history of some medical remedies. What he gives here is mostly quotation from a few technical, but easily accessible books. The matter is here pertinent, because forsooth the medicine man hit upon some remedies that have been retained in modern practice. The author tells us that "fifteen different copies of proof-sheets" of the book were read, yet gives us four solid pages of errata. It would be easy to pick up more but we refrain—only suggesting that Myron Ells mentioned on page 232 deserves correction.

In the book just mentioned, Maddox shows how the medicine man has lasted on into our own time and how he has his representatives in modern society: he also shows that some medical remedies in high repute are survivals from the stock-in-trade of the shaman. In the book[4] before us, Mr. Goitein attempts to trace modern law back to the primitive ordeal. Our author is nothing if not aesthetic. From the refined and carefully designed title-page and the elaborately worded dedication to Lady Clare Annesley onward, he is artistic in every detail. There are no ugly footnotes in *his* work, even index-numbers to the notes at the ends of chapters are omitted "to avoid spoiling the look of the page." The style of the author is most carefully finished, though the reader is often in uncertainty as to the meaning. The mystery of the prologue by three friends and the epilogue will haunt the reader less because both are printed in italic, than because of their innate character. In other words we have here a work unusual in science, of a character and flavor of its own, a book to be read and much of it to be taken away and remembered. It is a book of psycho-analysis, the application of the new psychology to a definite problem. It is like Freud's "Totem and Taboo"—an attempt to explain the facts and phenomena of anthropology by reference to the sub-conscious. If the author does not fully demonstrate that the ordeal is a phase of the mother-complex and the rebirth, he at least gives us a thought-provoking discussion. He begins with a study of what law and an action-at-law are. He then asks what is the primitive ordeal. It is not an affair of actually primitive man, but makes its appearance fairly along in culture. The ordeals by water, fire and poison are examined to get at their characteristic features. The ordeal must be considered in itself, in "the parties" and in the spectators. The precise place of the medicine man, or conjuror, in the ordeal is probably different from what Maddox would claim. Psycho-analytical ideas are applied to the ordeal, which is considered connected with the mother-complex, a special term, the Themis-complex, being suggested for this special phase. The author then returns to law as such. He speaks of the coming of law, the nature of law, and the relation of law to custom and morality. Chapters follow on rights, law in the modern world, and international law. Much thought has been given to the work and ingenuity is exercised in not stating things too fully or decisively. There is ever the feeling that much is suppressed—perhaps to force the reader to enter more personally into the discussion, or to avoid the perils of dogmatism with its dangers of criticism and reply. As the announcement of the book says:—"it elaborates no thesis; it is rather an appeal to those interested in social theory to follow up the lines of enquiry here sketched, and sufficient indications are afforded that such efforts will be richly rewarded." The author indicates three stages in the settlement of disputes. In the case of really primitive man we have the immediate reaction to offense in the blow that kills the offender; later, the ordeal replaces this; finally, from it grows up the case-at-law.

FREDERICK STARR.

[4] "Primitive Ordeal and Modern Law." H. Goitein. New York: 1923. The Macmillan Co. (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.) 16mo; pp. xvii, 302.

JOIN HANDS, O PEOPLES!

Beneath the high cathedral-roof
Which lights the growing Church of Man—
The Church where none need stand aloof,
But each serves each, as all men can—
Beneath this blue, resplendent arch
What joy and sorrow daily march,
In hopeful, gay processional,
In sad despair's recessional!

Its altar is the human heart,
And priests around that altar stand
Whose eager promptings would impart
Relief for every groaning land.
They probe no more the Far and Vast,
But building wiser than the Past
They toil for present peace and good,
And sound the charmed word "Brotherhood"!

Within that Church, as incense, float
Unselfish deeds that glow and gleam;
And Hope's appealing organ-note
Swells loud and wide love's lofty theme.
Oh why do nations stand apart
And still deny the human heart!
Join hands, O peoples!—One, yet Free!—
And end earth's age-long misery.

Christian Register. —*James Harcourt West.*

CORRESPONDENCE

THREE ANSWERS TO SUBSCRIPTION RENEWAL NOTICES.

[These letters tell an interesting story, which we want to share with our readers. (A) We are sorry to lose Mrs. M.'s subscription, and sorry that our "tone of triumph," as she calls it, is misunderstood. We want the denominational churches to decay, and are glad that they are doing so. *Real* churches, however—i. e., institutions of true religion, of which there are not a few these days—we want to prosper, and are glad that they are doing so. Our "tone of triumph," after all, is only a wholesome recognition of the life-process. What is dead decays, of course; and what is living flourishes! (B) and (C). These letters come from subscribers who most rejoice the heart. So long as we can hold the support of such as these, we shall dwell content.—EDITORS.]

(A)

To Unity Publishing Company:

I am sorry to give up UNITY for many reasons, but I can no longer stand the tone of triumph over the supposed decay of the churches.

Boston, Mass. MRS. J. F. M.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

SHALL WE AS BROTHERS SHARE?

A year and a half ago the Quakers expected to close down their relief service in Germany within a few months. Instead, it was found necessary to greatly extend the work, and today the need is as great, if not greater, than at any time in the last five years.

The steady fall of the mark has wiped out the savings of years, has driven to beggary or killed by actual starvation, uncounted numbers of old people who had believed themselves secure for their old age. Widows who thought themselves safe on an income ample for the upbringing of their children found that a year's income would not even buy a sheet for the bed. Today it costs for a single street car fare as many marks as was once a good year's income.

Fixed incomes have thus been annihilated. As to wages and salaries—as the mark ran its downward course, these, necessarily mounted, but never at the same speed. The mark-fall of one week might be partly counterbalanced by the wage-rise of the next; but, meanwhile, and week after week, the wage earned has been far below a proper subsistence level. And one of the worst features of the present situation for the wage-earner is that prices rise steadily, no matter whether the mark rises or falls.

Practically, the entire population of Germany is undernourished, underclothed, or worse. No relief work can be adequate in the face of such a need. The relief service of the Friends, service of love though it is, is all too small. This service includes, in brief:

1. In Frankfurt and Leipzig, depots have been established where several hundred families of the professional classes may buy groceries and other materials at about half the current shop prices.

2. In Berlin and Charlottenburg, about 1,000 students are receiving one hot meal a day from the Friends. In addition to this, special aid is available for students who are sick, who are about to take their examinations, or for other special cases.

3. The giving of parcels of food to persons in great need, known to the agents of Friends in ten or twelve principal cities. Clothing, sent from Holland and England is often given, also, and sometimes financial aid.

4. The sending of delicate children to other countries to live for a time with friends there.

5. Financial assistance to about 25 institutions and homes for children, old people, cripples, etc., in Berlin, Leipzig, Nürnberg, Breslau, Cologne, and elsewhere.

Every phase of the work done by Friends could be tremendously added to, without meeting the need. The students, for instance, are, for the most part, earning their way, with the greatest difficulty, often living in unheatable garrets, or acting as night-watchmen in garages for the sake of shelter, while the meal supplied by the Friends may be practically the only meal of the day.

A small package of food or clothing brings such expressions as "Our joy is indescribable," "We can now live for a little while," etc. Appeals for help in the most distressing cases come to the Berlin office, day after day. Its workers see actual starvation, with its victims only waiting for death, or the faint hope of relief.

What can you do? Can you give money, food, clothing, or time? Will you help a delicate child away from tuberculosis back to sturdy boyhood? Will you help the doctors, teachers, artists—unorganized, and so often in worse straits than the wage-earners—to struggle through these fearful times? Will you help the students, on whom depends Germany's future leadership, to reach maturer years in health of body, mind, and spirit?

This work of the Friends is but a continuation of their relief service during and since the war. Their belief in God and God's love among men forbade their supporting the war. This same belief drove them to help the suffering in all the warring countries. In the spirit of brotherhood and loving-kindness, will you help them to help others?

MISS MARY N. CHASE,
Sec'y New Hampshire Peace Society, Andover, N. H.

BIRTHDAYS IN OCTOBER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Birthdays in October of political prisoners confined in American prisons are announced by the Workers' National Prison Comfort Club, 2923 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wisconsin, as follows:

At Leavenworth, Kansas, Box No. 7—October 7, Frank Elliott, No. 13568.

At San Quentin Prison, San Quentin, Calif.—October 23, John Hannon, No. 35565.

At Senior Farm, Dewalt, Brazoria Co., Texas—October 30, Jesus Gonzales, Leonardo Vasquez.

At Box "A" North Side Sta., Pittsburgh, Pa.—October 18, Israel Blankenstein, Reg. No. 12662.

At State Pen. Western District of Pa., Pittsburgh, Pa.—October 4, Jacob Dolla.

Abraham Cisneros writes: "A few words of appreciation. Such greetings, indeed, help to lighten prison burdens. May a few words of cheer and encouragement continue to come to me from time to time,—is my earnest wish."

CORA MEYER, *National Secretary.*

WHEN SHOULD A WAR-CORRESPONDENT CONFESS?

Five years after the Armistice, an American war correspondent who followed the German Army in Belgium says that the "Hun atrocities were war propaganda." Writing for the New York *World* and other papers, Will Irwin says that the time is ripe

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(B)

Unity Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill.

Dear friends:—I am glad to renew my subscription and had hoped to send 2 new subscriptions along but have not succeeded as yet.

I am well pleased with the first year, and a great many articles are excellent in every way, but it surely is very hard to make the average person see it and subscribe to it, as the "but's" grow like weeds in the garden during rainy weather.

Have been handing copies out and will keep at it.

With best wishes and hopes for the Brotherhood of Mankind.

Sincerely yours,

P. FIEBIGER.

P. S.—Your descriptions of conditions in Soviet Russia are the best I have read, and make the impression of "not overdrawn," either way.

Plainfield, N. J.

(C)

To Unity Publishing Company:

How would you like to reside in a community 100 per cent Woodrow Wilson, 100 per cent K. K. K., 100 per cent for Sabbath observance, 100 per cent against the foreigner and 100 per cent for things as they are? There is some opposition but it is strictly silent except for the writer and he has been ostracized by the business community, looked upon by them as a traitor to their class or his class. What right had an owner and operator of a public utility (electric light and power plant) to favor public ownership and refuse to enter into a deal whereby a street car company would be enabled to pay on its watered capital? The plan was for the power company to obtain concessions from city by agreeing on the side to then sell to the street car company. The latter owed the two leading banks and 3 prominent citizens. For this refusal the power company has been properly punished—contract repudiated by the city and company forced to dispose of its plant. But writer made it a "dog fall" for he refused to sell other than to the municipality. The "bosses of the community" now run the power plant and use funds derived therefrom to operate the city and keep their taxes down. So they have won out in the end.

J. T. L.

to show that what Admiral Sims said about German warfare at sea was substantially true of German fighting on land. After reciting his attempts to substantiate atrocity stories, he states that the Germans conducted their fight with just about as much needless cruelty as the other armies perpetrated, or would have done under similar circumstances.

Confessions of reporters are interesting, but from the standpoint of journalistic principle with regard to the facts of a given case it is even more interesting to recall that in 1921, the official German report on the conduct of its armies in Belgium was published here under the title, "The German Army in Belgium" (Huebsch). Captain E. N. Bennett, of the British Army, who translated it, showed that it destroyed the reliability of the Bryce and Belgian reports upon which the Allied atrocities propaganda was based. Captain Bennett, in his introduction, flatly declared that the Germans were justified by the rules of war in carrying out certain reprisals, and that the operations of the British Army in Ireland were far less justifiable either from the standpoint of law or humane sentiment. According to the lately adopted code of journalistic ethics, does a reporter of military operations have to confess to a personal knowledge of the facts, and if so, how long after the event, or how long after they have already become matters of public record?—*"News Notes," B. W. Huebsch, Inc.*

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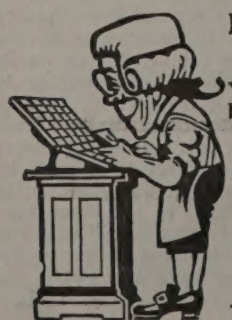

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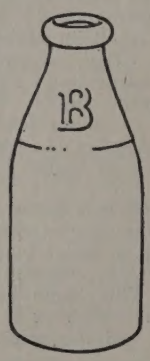

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